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but, having become Director of the New York School of Philanthropy and Professor of Social Legislation at Columbia University, it was impossible for him longer to bear the burdens of this office. At the meeting of the Board of Trustees, April 22d, Dr. Lindsay's resignation was accepted and he was elected Vice-Chairman of the Committee. Mr. Lovejoy was appointed Acting Secretary.

The increased correspondence due to the plan of a popular associate membership has necessitated the enlargement of the office staff. Our files now show a correspondence list of over 20,000 names.

The material and facts regarding child labor collected by the Committee during the three years of its work have been placed at the disposal of the United States Commissioner of Labor and his special agents for aid in their investigation of the conditions of child labor, authorized by Congress at its last session.

In consultation with the Chairman of the Committee, the need was discussed for a thorough compilation of the official and scientific literature on child labor in European countries. Through the kindness of Dr. Isaac Adler such a compilation is to be made for this Committee by a well-qualified physician whom he will select for the work.

The Finance Committee, May 27th, made a careful review of the financial situation and directed that especial attention be given to securing additional contributions. Through efforts continued during the summer, new names were added to the membership list, especially in the class of sustaining members, and these, together with other contributors, have enabled the Committee to close the year with the credit balance shown in the Treasurer's report.

OWEN R. LOVEJOY,
Acting Secretary.

New York, October 1, 1907.

THE PROCEEDINGS OF THE FOURTH ANNUAL MEETING OF THE NATIONAL CHILD LABOR COMMITTEE

The first annual meeting of this Committee was held in New York City, February 14th to 16th, 1905. The second annual meeting was held in Washington, December 8th to 10th, 1905, with supplementary sessions, one in Philadelphia on December 7th, and one in Chicago on December 16th. The third annual meeting was held in Cincinnati, December 13th to 15th, 1906.

At the fourth annual meeting, held in Atlanta, Ga., April 2, 3, 4 and 5, 1908, the following program was carried out:

GENERAL TOPIC OF THE FOURTH ANNUAL MEETING: CHILD LABOR AND SOCIAL PROGRESS.

I. Thursday Evening, April 2: Reception and Banquet.—Piedmont Hotel.

Toastmaster, General Clifford L. Anderson, Chairman of the Georgia Child Labor Committee.

"The National Child Labor Committee," Dr. Felix Adler, Chairman National Child Labor Committee, and Leader of the Society for Ethical Culture, New York.

"What Atlanta is Doing for the Children," His Honor Mayor W. R. Joyner.

"The Business World and Child Labor," Asa G. Candler, President of the Chamber of Commerce.

"Paternalism or Fraternalism," Hon. Hooper Alexander.

"The Work of the Women's Clubs," Mrs. Hamilton Douglas.

"Organized Labor and Child Labor," Charles Bernhardt.

II. Friday Morning, April 3, 10.30 o'clock.—Piedmont Hotel.

Conference.—Reports of State and Local Committees.

Presiding Officer, Dr. Samuel McCune Lindsay, Vice-Chairman, National Child Labor Committee.

"WHAT IS A GOOD CHILD LABOR LAW?"

1. Symposium.

Five-minute addresses covering questions of age limit and other standards; who should issue employment certificates; the English education test, with a comparison of child labor laws in other countries, etc.

2. "Child Labor in New England," Everett W. Lord, Secretary for New England, National Child Labor Committee.
3. "Report on Southern Textile Conference," A. J. McKelway.
4. "Children on the Streets of Cincinnati," E. N. Clopper, Secretary for Ohio Valley States, National Child Labor Committee.

III. Friday Afternoon, 2.30 o'clock.—Piedmont Hotel.

"CHILD LABOR AND EDUCATION."

Presiding Officer, Dr. A. J. McKelway.

1. "Compulsory Education in the South," George F. Milton, editor *The Sentinel*, Knoxville, Tenn.
2. "The Education of Mill Children in the South," Rev. Alfred E. Seddon, Atlanta, Ga.
3. "The Function of Education in Abolishing Child Labor," Owen R. Lovejoy, General Secretary, National Child Labor Committee.
4. "Compulsory Education, the Solution of the Child Labor Problem," Lewis W. Parker, Greenville, S. C.
5. "Scholarships for Working Children," Fred S. Hall, Secretary, Philadelphia Child Labor Committee.⁵

⁵This article will be published later, as a separate pamphlet, by the National Child Labor Committee.

IV. Friday Evening, April 3, 8 o'clock.—Grand Opera House.

"EFFECTS OF CHILD LABOR ON SOCIETY."

Presiding Officer, Dr. Felix Adler.

1. "The Basis of the Anti-Child Labor Movement in the Idea of American Civilization," Dr. Felix Adler.
2. "Social Cost of Accident, Ignorance and Exhaustion," Prof. Charles R. Henderson, University of Chicago.
3. "The Leadership of the Child," Dr. A. J. McKelway, Atlanta.

V. Saturday Morning, April 4, 10.30 o'clock.—Piedmont Hotel.

Conference—Business Session. Reports of State and Local Committees.

Presiding Officer, Edward W. Frost, Milwaukee, Wis.

A SYMPOSIUM ON FACTORY INSPECTION.

1. "Essentials in Factory Inspection," Hon. John H. Morgan, Chief Inspector of Workshops and Factories, Ohio.
2. "Why the Children are in the Factory," Miss Jean M. Gordon, Factory Inspector, Louisiana.

Special Topics for Discussion.

1. "The Need of More Authority for Factory Inspectors."
2. "Duty of the Private Citizen to Aid in Law Enforcement."
3. "Co-operation with School Officials."

VI. Saturday Afternoon, 5.30-7.00 o'clock.—Governor's Mansion.

Reception by His Excellency, Governor Hoke Smith and Mrs. Smith.

VII. Saturday Evening, 8 o'clock.—Grand Opera House.

"CHILD LABOR AND THE STATE."

Presiding Officer, Dr. Felix Adler.

1. "The Consumers' Responsibility for Child Labor," Mrs. Florence Kelley, Secretary, National Consumers' League.
2. "The New View of the Child," Edward T. Devine, Ph.D., Secretary, Charity Organization Society, and Professor of Social Economy, Columbia University, New York City.
3. "The Club Woman and Child Labor," Mrs. A. O. Granger, Cartersville, Ga., of the General Federation of Women's Clubs.
4. "The Scope of National and State Regulation of Child Labor," Samuel McCune Lindsay, Ph.D., Director, New York School of Philanthropy, and Professor of Social Legislation, Columbia University, New York.

VIII. Sunday Afternoon, 3.00 o'clock.—Mass Meeting, Grand Opera House.

"THE ETHICAL AND RELIGIOUS ASPECTS OF CHILD LABOR."

Presiding Officer, Chancellor James H. Kirkland, Vanderbilt University, Nashville, Tenn.

*This article will be published later as a separate pamphlet by the National Child Labor Committee.

1. "The Duty of the People in Child Protection," Hon. Hoke Smith, Governor of Georgia.
2. "The State of Oklahoma and Her Children," Miss Kate Barnard, State Commissioner of Charities, Guthrie, Okla.
3. "The Psychology of the Child," Rev. J. W. Stagg, D.D., Pastor, First Presbyterian Church, Birmingham, Ala.*

ATLANTA COMMITTEES ON FOURTH ANNUAL MEETING.

Committee on Entertainment.—General Clifford L. Anderson, Chairman, Hon. Hooper Alexander, Hon. W. A. Covington, Don Marquis, Ex-Gov. Allen D. Candler, Burton Smith, Councilman Wright, Mayor *Pro Tem*. Quillian, Alderman Key, Councilman Harmon, Councilman Alonzo Johnson, Hon. C. M. Candler, Rev. W. W. Landrum, Charles D. McKinney, Rev. T. H. Rice, R. J. Guin, Asa Candler, H. H. Whitcomb, V. G. Kriegshaber, Rev. C. B. Wilmer, A. J. McKelway.

Finance Committee—Clifford L. Anderson, Asa G. Candler, H. H. Whitcomb, A. J. McKelway, Sam D. Jones, James R. Gray, F. L. Seely, Clark Howell, Robert F. Maddox, Dr. David Marx, F. J. Paxon, Joseph Hirsch.

The first session of the annual meeting was a reception and banquet given by the Georgia Child Labor Committee to the members and guests of the National Child Labor Committee at the Piedmont Hotel. General Clifford L. Anderson, Chairman of the Georgia Child Labor Committee, presided, and gave a welcome to the city and an endorsement of the work in which this Committee is engaged. In the course of his remarks, he declared that the progress of mankind is coincident with mental development, and the capacity of adult man for successful achievement is measured by the opportunities of his youth. Nine-tenths of human achievement, he believed, is attributable directly to selfish impulses, guided by independence of thought and action. Nevertheless, it did no violence to this faith to advocate an appeal to law to improve the standard of physical and mental equipment for the struggle with life. "No child is expected to determine for himself the wisest course to pursue in fitting himself for his future life. It must be determined for him, either by his parent or by his state, and since his state is compelled under our form of government to do what a majority of its people wills, it is in no sense contrary to the principles upon which our government is founded, that we adopt laws which prohibit those things which will degrade our citizenship or deprave our citizens, or which compel them to comply with reasonable regulations for sanitation, or for labor, or for other things contributing to their material and moral up-lifting. Therefore, I have no patience with those persons who, actuated by sordid motives, seek to belittle the efforts of those who have devoted themselves to this great work, and to classify them either as meddlers or advocates of paternalism.

"These eminent men and women, then, who have gathered together in our city for this occasion, command and deserve our respect and the gratitude of the nation; and Atlanta, with its liberal and ever-hospitable people,

*Paper not published owing to failure in securing stenographic report.

appreciating as she does, her selection as the place for the fourth annual meeting of the National Child Labor Committee, extends to you, guests of the evening, whom we delight to honor, a most cordial welcome.

"I now have the honor to present to you His Honor, W. R. Joyner, Mayor of Atlanta."

Mayor Joyner described briefly what Atlanta is doing for the children in the development of the probation system, the juvenile court and the improvement of the conditions of working children. He referred to a resolution recently passed by the General Council of Atlanta providing for the appointment of a committee to investigate the conditions in places where women and girls are employed. "I was very fortunate in securing ladies to serve on this committee who are much interested in this work and the result of their investigation will be watched for with interest. This committee has full power to make a complete investigation of the factories, mills, department stores and other places where women and girls are employed, and I am confident of their ultimate success in the correction of any evils that may be found to exist. I am informed that this is one of the first instances where a city government has taken a hand in such matters, welfare work of this kind usually coming through organizations of citizens.

"In regard to the mill children of Atlanta, it gives me pleasure to state that for ten years this city has contributed to their improvement. This has been done through the Atlanta Free Kindergarten Association, where the little children of the women who work in the mills are given free instruction through the Sheltering Arms, which maintains a free day nursery and does similar work in the mill districts, through the Home for the Friendless and through a corps of nine splendid physicians especially charged with the duty of waiting upon the poor of the city free of charge.

"It may be of interest to you to know that, although Atlanta's income is about two and one-half million dollars per annum, more than eighty thousand of this amount is expended annually for the relief of the poor and in maintaining non-sectarian institutions of various kinds, which have special charge of the work that is being fostered through the endeavors of such organizations as that to which you belong.

"I believe the work you are doing is of the utmost importance at this time. Certainly no efforts can deserve a greater reward than those which seek to remove the obstacles from the paths where little children walk, and which seek to make their lives sweeter and better and more joyful, and which give them the best opportunities to develop into the strong manhood and womanhood we all admire and which we all are, or ought to be, striving for."

Hon. Asa G. Candler, President of the Chamber of Commerce, discussed the relation of the business world to child labor. With subtle humor he defended child labor and the function of the National Child Labor Committee. He said: "Child labor properly conducted, properly surrounded, properly conditioned, is calculated to bring the highest measure of success to any country on the face of the earth. The most beautiful sight that we see is the child at labor; as early as he may get at labor, the more beautiful, the more useful does his life get to be.

"I understand the function of this National Child Labor Committee is solely to tell us how to surround the child that his labor may develop him into a noble, useful, competent laboring grown person. And while you are engaged in this great service, when you remember, if I have spoken the truth, that you labor in the richest field in all this universe, that which promises the greatest returns, then you will realize how important you are to society."

Dr. Adler, Chairman of the National Child Labor Committee, responded to the addresses of welcome, and said:

"On behalf of the Committee over which I have the honor to preside, I thank you, General Anderson, for your cordial words of welcome, and you, Mr. Mayor, for the hand you so warmly extend to us. I propose also to answer the challenge implied in the last words of the beautiful address by the President of the Chamber of Commerce to which we have just listened.

"He has challenged us to tell how the child Atlanta is to play and how it is to labor, and what are to be the measure and the reward of its toil. It seems to me we can answer in no better way than to express the wish that this child Atlanta may emulate the lovely girl of Arcadia, who was the first to be called Atlanta, and in whose honor it is believed that this city was named,—the huntress and princess, matchless, peerless, swiftest in the race, with whom no one ever successfully competed until that last race in which she won by losing, the one race she ever lost and yet the one also in which she won the most; for she gathered the three golden apples to her breast and won a lover.

"So my wish for Atlanta is that this city may gather the threefold fruit to her breast; the fruit of material wealth, of civic progress and of humanitarian sentiment in the name of which we are here gathered together.

"I offer my tribute and my homage, in the name of our Committee, Mr. Chairman, to the modern Atlanta."

The address of Hon. Hooper Alexander, on "Paternalism or Fraternalism," drew a clear distinction between a social order in which improved conditions are super-imposed and a true democracy in which each citizen participates in the general advance.

He said: "Anaemic morality is degenerate. The virtue that springs from the good red blood is full of human passions, and, therefore, by so much as a people are virtuous and virile, by so much will their reforms be retarded when irritating intervention shall seek to scold or hurry them to their own betterment. Now, this is not inconsistent with the welcoming of a friendly and fraternal co-operation from without, that only tenders sympathy and a helping hand when asked.

"Child labor in factories is a new thing in Georgia. Twenty years ago it was scarcely known. Ten years ago it had become acute, and vested interest had appeared upon the scene. Seven years ago the inevitable struggle began here to be rid of it; and it is a satisfaction to me to know that from the beginning I was some small part of that movement. It has had its foredoomed reverses, but its ultimate triumph is in sight. The thing that has

been most potential to retard the movement here has been some limited amount of impatient scolding from New England, the surest provocative of quick resentment. On the natural passions thus aroused, vested interests have shrewdly played for their own purposes. And when these interests charged that the distant scoldings emanated from an interested source, jealous of industrial competition here, it was no easy matter to counteract the Machiavellian plea, so cunningly designed to play upon the passionate resentments of a generous people conscious of the injustice of the hasty criticisms aimed at their young fault.

"The advocates of that righteous reform here felt the more keenly the injustice of the thing, because we who are in the struggle knew that more than half the hampering opposition emanated from those very regions whence the alleged jealousies were charged to come—from non-resident investors whose potential influence, acting through capable agencies, unduly blocked our efforts.

"It was most fortunate that when this Committee sent its sympathetic aid to Georgia, its messenger and agent, Dr. McKelway, had the rare discretion to subordinate his official station and his own personality and to become, while rendering invaluable service in that work, only a mere co-operating home unit here.

"Child labor flourished in England many generations before an awakened public conscience there corrected it by law. Its history in New England was very much the same, for it lasted there fully three generations. Its course in the South has been very brief. Its ultimate elimination here will be reasonably prompt if no unwise philanthropy, by impatient scoldings, shall drive to the aid of vested interests those whose red blood makes them resent alike interference with our domestic concerns and straining interpretations that seek undue enlargement of the federal power.

"Uncharitable and revolutionary interference checked in the South one great reform and long delayed it, and the atonement was costly and bloody; and it will be well for all to profit by that lesson and let no other such mistaken spirit of intolerant reform stay the inevitable progress of righteousness at the cost of prolonged suffering to little children."

The address of Charles Bernhardt, representing the American Federation of Labor, was a vigorous denunciation of the employment of young children and an appeal to all classes of citizens to unite in eliminating from the industrial system so costly an error. He said: "We can never expect to get broad-minded, intelligent men from a race of pigmies brought about by unfavorable conditions or by conditions of toil that deprive them of an opportunity for education, an opportunity to get out in the open air and sunshine. Children cannot broaden mentally or physically in the sweat-shop, or factory, or mill; they must have an opportunity to expand. It has been said that these little children would not go to school if they had the opportunity. Perhaps the child does not know what school is. We must take into consideration the fact that the child who has been in the factory for several years feels timid about going to school, especially when it finds children more advanced than itself. Even these children feel that they can

get along and struggle through life without going to school. We must do something to overcome these conditions. It is a cause that appeals to everyone of us, whether we earn our bread by the sweat of our brow or by manual exercise. We all are American citizens. As an economic evil we should get together and stamp out child labor as we would a foreign foe. If organized labor, as has been said here to-night, feels that it is the pioneer, if it has made the fight these many years on this evil, it is because it is nearest to it. When working men get home from the shop, or the factory, and look at the little babies at the fireside dependent upon them for support, and realize what to-morrow may bring forth, they wonder ofttimes if it is possible that these little children they love better than their lives will have to face similar conditions. Although they hope to avoid this, and do as much as they can to prepare themselves, yet it is likely to happen to the majority of them. That is the reason they are so eager to see conditions change; so that each child may have an opportunity for common schooling, and to put itself in condition to work and to shoulder the responsibility of citizenship. Let us continue to make the fight together, because this matter threatens our national life."

Mrs. Hamilton Douglass represented the women's clubs of Atlanta and spoke of their work. Hers was an eloquent defense of the right of woman to study the industrial conditions of modern society, because, in so doing, she is simply performing by new methods what the model housekeeper of ancient times did in caring for her household.

She said: "This present age, this twentieth century, has taken away the distaff from Penelope. It has put her spinning-wheel in the factory. Her loom no longer stands in the four walls of her home: it stands in some great factory in Massachusetts, or North Carolina, or Georgia. Her spinning and weaving and dyeing, and brewing and baking, are taken a little further from her than in ancient times. Her children are educated a little further from her knee, but that does not make her a new woman. She is the same woman with the same duties and responsibilities, whether she travels in an ox-cart or a steam-car. Extrinsic do not change the eternal verities. Whether her co-workers spin or weave does not change her duty toward them. Just as the wise woman took care of her household when that household was in her sight, so the ideal woman of to-day must take care of those who are doing her work for her, wherever they may be. Just so far as the spinner in yonder factory spins for me, she is a part of my household; just so far as she weaves for me, so far is she a part of my household. If a little child works for me without having that 'portion of meat' that the wise woman gave, I am to blame. I must give a portion, not only to my household immediately around me, but to my more distant household. So the modern Penelope is the oldest-fashioned woman, when she takes an interest in the health and well-being of those women and children working for her in factory or sweatshop, or in the hidden, unlovely places of earth.

"The ideal club, the only one worthy of the name, is the club that helps woman to see that far-off worker, that far-off member of the household, and just so far as any woman's club fails to help in that way, it fails

of its highest ideal and is not fit to survive. The woman's club is the field-glass that enables the club-woman to bring nearer to her that distant worker; to make her see that the distance between the factory that makes, and the home that consumes, is only a step. The woman's club is just a long-distance telephone that makes her hear the 'cry of the children.' The club woman who takes an interest in the sweat-shops, and the children in them, and in our factory workers everywhere, is just the same old-fashioned woman who 'looketh well to the ways of her household.'"

At the second session, Friday morning, April 3d, reports of state and local committees were presented, published elsewhere in this volume.

Following these reports the Conference engaged in a general discussion of the subject, "What is a Good Child Labor Law?" The importance of establishing rigid physical and educational standards was urged as offering greater protection to children than the mere establishment of an age limit. The discussion was opened by Mrs. Florence Kelley, with the following remarks:

ENFORCING CHILD LABOR LAWS.

"There are at least six essentials for a good child labor law, and the greatest of these is the enforcing official. In the interest of the children, these officials should be some of the ablest and most disinterested men and women in the community. With a thoroughly admirable chief inspector at work, everything else gradually comes, and without a thoroughly admirable chief inspector the best law remains largely valueless. Given excellent inspectors, and the weakness in any local situation is bound to be discovered, with the necessary legislation thereby rendered relatively easy to get. Next in order of importance comes a workable educational requirement. A child labor law is valuable to a child just in proportion as it applies the test of fitness to work directly to the child itself.

"We have no parish registers like those on which the English legislation rests, and they would be of no use for the foreign-born children if we had them. Yet we have everywhere placed upon poor and ignorant parents the burden of temptation to lie, and cheat and perjure themselves by placing upon them the duty of furnishing the child's age, as the chief condition for its finding employment. The crop of perjury that we have reaped has been richly deserved.

"In many states there is merely the requirement that a child, before beginning to work, shall reach a specified age. This is utterly futile without the further requirement of proof of age. Then arises the question, What kind of proof?

"The best kind is the child itself. If 'Johnny' is tall and strong and heavy; if he has graduated from the eighth grade of the public school and can do examples in fractions from dictation, he is presumably at least fourteen years old. For himself, these are the important tests, height, weight, school record of achievement, and available knowledge, to reinforce the evidence as to his age.

"These things we get in New York City by means of the requirement that

the public shall always have access to the filed documents in every child's case. At the office of the Board of Health there have been accumulating for some years, for every working child, the signed statement of the class teacher and principal as to the grade from which each child has come, and its days of school attendance since the thirteenth birthday. With this is filed the signed statement of the examining physician that the child is, in his opinion, of the normal development of a child of its age and in good health.

"If, therefore, a feeble-minded child be found at work, it is perfectly simple to trace the official whose faithlessness let the unhappy victim escape from the special class adapted to its needs, out into the world of work.

"Is the person at fault in such a dereliction the examining physician or the teacher or principal? Obviously all three, and clearly none of them has any such temptation as besets a toiling, illiterate mother.

"This, then, I believe to be the best method of enforcement yet devised for any child labor law in this country."

Hon. John H. Morgan, Chief Factory Inspector of Ohio, urged the importance of the establishment of state truancy departments on the ground that a local truant officer is frequently unable to overcome the power of local influence in the performance of his duties. He also contended that the adequate enforcement of child labor laws demands the employment of women factory inspectors, a provision recently secured in the child labor law of Ohio.

Newton T. Baker, of Rhode Island, a textile manufacturer, inquired as to the operation of the "half-time system for children of school age." A brief discussion followed in which the experience of England was cited as emphasizing the following objections: First, that the child employed for a half day in the factory is too fatigued and too discouraged in competition with full-time students to do the best work in school; second, that the employers have found the system unsatisfactory, because of the irregularity of children working part time; third, that the law requiring the child to be in the factory a half day and in school a half day is practically impossible of enforcement.

Papers were presented by Everett W. Lord, Secretary for New England, on "Child Labor in New England," and by E. N. Clopper, Secretary for the Ohio Valley States, on "Children on the Streets of Cincinnati," and the following Report on the Southern Textile Conference was given by Dr. A. J. McKelway, Secretary for the Southern States:

THE SOUTHERN TEXTILE CONFERENCE.

At the meeting of the Tennessee Legislature an effort was made to amend the child labor law, and, as usual, the manufacturers opposed, while the labor unions and the child labor organizations advocated the improvement of the existing law. Before the matter was brought to an issue, however, and after the hearing of conflicting claims by the legislative committee, the two sides got together and agreed upon a compromise, namely, the shortening of the hours from sixty-six to sixty a week. At the same time it was suggested, and a resolution to that effect was passed by the legislature, that a Southern Textile Conference be called by the Governor of

Tennessee with representatives from the labor unions and from the manufacturing interests of the South, and those interested specifically in child labor reform. The conference was called to meet in Nashville, October 14 and 15, 1907.

The manufacturers of Tennessee did their best to secure representation from the manufacturing interests of the other Southern states, but in this they failed, though in some instances representatives were appointed by the governors of the respective states. When the conference assembled, it was found there were seventy-nine representatives of the labor unions present from several Southern states, eleven representing the manufacturing interests and ten members of the child labor organization. The Tennessee manufacturers therefore proposed withdrawing from the conference, but it was agreed to give them equal vote with the labor unions and child labor organization on the floor of the conference.

Colonel L. B. Tyson, of Knoxville, Tenn., a leading manufacturer of the state, was elected chairman of the conference, and Dan Wolff, of Memphis, secretary. After an address of welcome by the Governor of Tennessee, a committee on procedure was appointed, which recommended the following topics for discussion before the conference:

1. Age limit for the employment of children.
2. Hours of labor for children.
3. Age limit for night work.
4. Age limit for illiterate children.
5. Factory inspection.
6. Law enforcement.
7. Relation of compulsory education to child labor laws.
8. Rules and regulations for the employment of girls and women.
9. Certificate of employment.
10. Vagrancy.
11. Birth registration.
12. Marriageable age and age of consent.
13. Sanitary regulations.
14. Physical ability of children employed.

The resolutions offered on this topic were referred to a committee on resolutions, and, after a long and, at times, exciting discussion in the committee, the following recommendations were unanimously adopted by the committee and reported to the conference, which also adopted them by unanimous vote:

That the general age limit in manufacturing or mercantile employment and street trades be fixed at fourteen years.

That those Southern states that have not adopted a sixty-hour per week schedule should adopt same at once for all employers of women and children under eighteen years of age, except those engaged in agricultural pursuits and domestic service, and adopt as soon thereafter as is practical a fifty-eight-hour schedule. Provided, that nothing herein contained shall be construed as a recommendation to lengthen the hours per day in cases of states that have already adopted laws providing shorter hours of work.

That no child under sixteen years of age be allowed to work in any manufacturing or mercantile establishment or in the street trades between the hours of seven p. m. and six a. m.

That the keynote to the solution of the child labor problem is compulsory education, and that each state shall pass stringent laws requiring all children between seven and fifteen years of age to attend school at least sixteen consecutive weeks each year, unless they have completed the highest grades taught in their school districts, and that the state furnish all school books to children attending public schools free of charge.

That all able-bodied men who have no visible means of support, who live in idleness upon the wages or earnings of their mother, wife or minor children, except male children over eighteen years of age, shall be deemed vagrants, and shall be punishable under laws relating to vagrancy.

That uniform laws on birth registration are recommended for all states.

That no female under seventeen and no male under nineteen years of age be allowed to marry, and that oaths to this effect be required before issuing license.

We recommend the enactment by various states of such laws as shall make it possible to definitely and positively establish the age of every child employed in a manufactory or in other establishments, and suitable penalties for the violation of same.

That the shop and factory laws of the various Southern states be extended and amplified in keeping with our industrial progress and advancing civilization, and that sufficient appropriation be made to provide for a force of inspection officers who will fairly cover the ground and who will prudently and firmly enforce all laws pertaining to the welfare and protection of those employed in the mines, shops, factories and manufacturing establishments.

That we recommend to all the states where women and children are employed that women inspectors should also be appointed.

That labor agents from other states be required to pay a license of \$1,000.

We favor the enactment of laws providing for the proper sanitation, ventilation and lighting of all manufacturing, mechanical and mercantile establishments and workshops; for the erection of adequate fire escapes and other means of egress in case of fire or other disasters; the installation of proper and adequate appliances for protection against dangerous machinery, beltings, hatchways, elevators and stairways; the screening of all stairways used by the female help, and separate toilet, dressing and wash-rooms for members of the opposite sexes; the furnishing of blowers or fans to carry off dust or smoke in all cases where such dust or smoke may be injurious to the health of the employees; and the installation of a sufficient number of seats for women and children to be used by them at such times when they are not actually engaged in the performance of the work at which they are employed.

WHEREAS, The results of the conference prove that only good can come from free interchange of views by the representatives of manufacturers and other employers of woman and child labor, and of the humane organizations;

Resolved, That this conference request that the General Assembly of Tennessee authorize the Governor of Tennessee to call a similar conference in the fall of the year 1910, for the same purpose, in some Southern city.

Upon the organization of the Mississippi Child Labor Committee, a resolution was passed asking the aid of the National Child Labor Committee in effecting the passage of the Child Labor Bill. I found that the bill as drawn included a provision for an eight-hour day for children under sixteen years of age. I told the Mississippi Committee that if my assistance was desired in this matter, I should have to insist, in good faith with the members of the conference, that the fifty-eight-hour schedule, instead of the forty-eight be adopted, and, upon my advice, the bill was re-written in this respect. Unfortunately, the same good faith was not evident on the part of the opponents of child labor legislation. One of the manufacturers, who was present at the Nashville conference, was also the owner of cotton mills in Mississippi. At the hearing given to the friends and enemies of child labor legislation by a committee of the Mississippi Legislature, he appeared in opposition to the bill of the Mississippi Child Labor Committee, which had been purposely drawn to keep within the recommendations of the conference at Nashville, for which he had voted, and the bill as finally passed was based upon the twelve-year age limit instead of the fourteen-year age limit as recommended by the Textile Conference.

In conclusion, I should like to throw out this challenge. We hear constantly the claims that are made by the manufacturers that they are friendly to reasonable legislation, and oppose only extreme measures. The recommendations proposed by the Textile Conference as a standard for the Southern States are the standards of child protective legislation for the civilized world. The labor unions throughout the South have bound themselves not to advocate a more drastic scheme of legislation for the protection of children in the next three years. The National Child Labor Committee has bound itself through the action of its secretary for the Southern States. What are the manufacturers going to do about it? What will be the action of their industrial organizations and of individual mill owners when these humane and reasonable measures for the protection of human life, for the protection of child life, are embodied into bills before our Southern legislatures? If they shall agree to this reasonable program—all honor to them! If they shall oppose it, let the responsibility rest where it belongs!

The papers presented at the third and fourth sessions appear under their various titles in this volume.

Following the addresses on the "Education of Mill Children in the South," by Rev. A. E. Seddon, and "Compulsory Education, the Solution of the Child Labor Problem," by Lewis W. Parker, of Greenville, S. C. (see pp. 40 to 56 of this volume), Dr. McKelway, the presiding officer at this session, made the following statement:

"I have never met Mr. Parker before, though we have had some very pleasant correspondence. But, having now heard his able address, I can understand better why it has been so hard for us to accomplish anything by way of improving the child labor law of South Carolina. While I believe

that law was a compromise between manufacturers and the friends of child labor reform, it is now claimed by the manufacturers as their law. I must say that it is not a law to boast of. There is no factory inspection and the twelve-year age limit is weakened by the provision that a child of any age, who is already handicapped by orphanage or by being the child of shiftless or dependent parents, may be further penalized by having the burden of his own support or the support of his parents bound upon his tender shoulders. I call attention to the fact that the case mentioned by Mr. Seddon, of the seven-year-old girl whom he found at work in one of the South Carolina mills, who had been working there for a year and a half, until this year under a twelve-hour day and now under an eleven-hour day, was not a violation of the South Carolina law, since the child was an orphan. Has not the proud State of South Carolina, with its humane people, something better to do with an orphan girl of five and a half years than to send her to the cotton mill? We have the photograph of this child actually engaged at work before a machine, and no one who looks at the picture will doubt her age to be as stated.

"As regards compulsory education, the program arranged for this meeting and the papers read will surely prove the interest of this committee in this cause. But it has been often pointed out that the manufacturers of the South, as a whole, are divided on this question of compulsory education. Some who favor it, as Mr. Parker and the South Carolina manufacturers, represented by himself, say that we must wait for a compulsory education law before we send the children out of the mills. Others say that compulsory education is a mistaken theory, and that, as a child labor law is not effective without compulsory education, therefore, the child labor law should not be passed at all. In either event, you see, the child of tenderest years may be kept in the mill. This committee is openly and unanimously for compulsory education as making more effective child labor legislation. When the manufacturers as a class cease their objection to it, the compulsory education laws will be enacted. The North Carolina manufacturers have published to the world that they are in favor of compulsory education. The North Carolina Legislature passed, over a year ago, a sort of local option compulsory education law, any school district being allowed to vote itself under the provisions of the general law. I have yet to hear of any mill district that has put itself under the compulsory education law.

"I am glad that Mr. Parker has said what he has about the educational advance made in the South. So far as advocacy with my pen is concerned, I have done what was in my power to aid in this great movement. But I call Mr. Parker's attention to some figures he did not quote from Census Bulletin No. 69, the figures as to the comparative illiteracy of the states at large and of the factory families within those states.

"In Georgia, the white illiterates ten to fourteen years of age are 10.1 per cent of the total. In the factory families, the illiterates of the same age are 44 per cent. In North Carolina the corresponding figures are 16.6 per cent and 50 per cent. In Mr. Parker's State of South Carolina the white illiterates of the state at large from ten to fourteen years of age are 14.8

per cent. The illiterates of the same ages in the factory families are 48.5 per cent. That is, the illiteracy of the children of the factories in these three states is three or four times as great as the illiteracy of white children of the same ages in the states at large. And the smaller percentage for the states at large includes the larger percentage of the factory families. It is not too much to say that the white illiteracy of these three states at least might be almost abolished if we could educate the children of the factory districts. The figures given by Mr. Parker as to school enrollment for the factory districts in South Carolina indicate some improvement since 1900. But there is an immense difference between school enrollment and the average attendance at school. The investigations of Mr. Seddon in South Carolina showed a great discrepancy between the two in the mill villages, as his paper has shown. In Mr. Parker's own mill, the Monaghan Mill, of whose educational and welfare work Mr. Seddon could not say too much in praise, out of the forty-one children personally examined, at work in the mill, one of nine years, one of sixteen, and the others between, there were twenty-eight illiterates. And in another of Mr. Parker's mills, the Granby Mill, of Columbia, where there was a very large attendance in the first four grades, above 95 per cent, it was found that about half of the children were half-timers, working half their time in the mill, an expedient which has been ruinous to the mill population of England, and which I hope Mr. Parker will abandon as soon as he learns of its harmful tendencies, certainly for children of the first four grades.

"Mr. Parker claims that a child labor law in the South is necessarily aimed at the cotton mills, and that a compulsory education law would be equal in its operations. I call attention to the fact that the compulsory education bill which Mr. Parker and his colleagues advocate has the low age limit of twelve years. So it would afford no protection at all to children over twelve and not to children under twelve during vacation. And with the school term often shorter than the vacation, one may readily imagine how much good it will do the children physically to spend say eight months in the mill and four months in school. But as to the child labor law being aimed at the cotton mills, Mr. Parker himself states a very natural reason when he says that eighty per cent of the employees in South Carolina industries are cotton mill operatives. The same admission is made when he says: It would be folly to contend that the proportion of children in the Southern cotton mills was no greater than in the cotton mills of other portions of the Union. And to this statement there should be added the statement of the Census Bulletin, which I quote from memory, that to a greater extent than any manufacturing industry the cotton mill is the employer of children. Certainly, if the cotton mill has attained this bad eminence, and the Southern cotton mill is the peak of the eminence, complaint should not be made that the child labor reform has the cotton mill in view. But there is still another reason why the cotton mill has become notorious for the employment of children, namely, that the cotton mill owners have been most conspicuously hostile to the cause of child labor reform. In every legislative battle in which I have been engaged, with the exception of the one in

Florida, where there is but one cotton mill, the cotton manufacturers have presented practically a united front against child labor legislation—in North Carolina, in South Carolina, in Georgia, in Alabama, in Mississippi—and even where the law has been enacted they have generally succeeded in forcing in a provision that has made the law largely ineffective. When they cease to be known as the enemies of this reform they may perhaps not have reason to complain that a child labor law is aimed at them. However, the laws, so far as I know them, speak of 'manufacturing establishments,' and not 'cotton mills.'

"Mr. Parker takes up considerable space in his paper on compulsory education in attacking the statements made by the National Child Labor Committee and its officers. It might appear, at first blush, a little singular that any one really in favor of this reform should endeavor to weaken the influence and attack the good name of the only national organization in this country which is formed solely for the purpose of abolishing this evil. The statements criticised are now about two years old. The advertisement, if correctly quoted, asking for help to rescue 'two million children from premature labor,' was written before the census department had analyzed its own figures of the census of 1900. In the census a million and three-quarters of children under sixteen were denominated 'breadwinners, engaged in gainful occupations.' From the alarming increase of child labor indicated in that census it was believed that there were two million breadwinners. The child breadwinner on the farm is not the boy who works for his father without wages, he is in one sense or another hired out. Still, the statement that two million children needed rescue from premature employment was perhaps extreme, although some authorities contend that the census department has been compelled to understate the real facts, because parents who have already made false statements about the ages of the children at work in order to obtain a certificate, would be likely to repeat the falsehood to the census taker.

"However, I attempted some analysis of the census figures, as early as 1904, and Mr. Parker was seemingly so much pleased with that address that he sent to me more than once for copies to distribute. In that paper I said: 'Among those under sixteen years of age counted by the census makers as engaged in gainful occupations, by far the greatest number are at work on the farm. And by the operation of the tenant system and the landlord's contract for a certain number of hands, thousands of children, especially among the negroes, are counted as engaged in gainful occupations who would not be enumerated except for the tenant system. This is a kind of child labor that does not interfere even with school attendance in the winter months, and is beneficial in the direction of physical development.' I reiterate that statement with which Mr. Parker was already familiar. But we take issue with him when he says that a child labor law has nothing to do with children under sixteen. It has most emphatically, as to the hours of labor, as to night work and as to opportunity for education.

"In quoting from my address in Cincinnati, 'The Awakening of the South Against Child Labor,' Mr. Parker makes an omission which is significant. The census had given the rate per cent of children under sixteen in

Southern cotton mills as thirty per cent. Mr. Parker omits to mention that the manufacturers gave the total number of operatives in their own reports to the 'Blue Book,' their textile publication, namely, 209,000. The crime of which I am accused is that of multiplying the base by the rate to find the percentage of 62,700 children from ten to fourteen years of age. If there is any other rule by which the manufacturers obtain the desired result, I shall be glad to learn the new arithmetic.

"It was my opinion, based on considerable observation, that, a year ago, the rate had increased, on account of the scarcity of labor, to which Mr. Parker refers, and the movement, carefully investigated, of the small families from the mill to the farm and of the large families from the farm to the mill. I emphasize the fact that we now have an estimate from a manufacturer that there are only 9,000 children under fourteen in all the Southern cotton mills. Mr. August Kohn, a most friendly critic of the South Carolina cotton mills, declared last year that there were fifteen hundred children in the mills of South Carolina alone under twelve. I should hate to believe that after the last two years of agitation and legislation on this subject in the South and with the prospect of further restriction by 1910, the census of that year should not show some improvement. But I should be overjoyed to find that Mr. Parker's estimate of 9,000 was then correct.

"As to the efforts of the South Carolina manufacturers to obtain compulsory education, birth registration and a marriage license law, I am in entire sympathy, though the proffer of our aid in these matters was respectfully declined by a South Carolina manufacturer. If Mr. Parker will go to the bottom of this subject, he will find that the early marriages and the wife desertion, against which he so eloquently protests in the appeal to the South Carolina Legislature, are the legitimate fruits of the child labor system with its inevitable disintegration of family life.

"And I could wish that the South Carolina manufacturers who have been for so many years advocating these laws, without success, were as effective in constructive legislation as they have been in obstructing and emasculating the child labor legislation for the protection of the children."

At the fifth session, Saturday morning, April 4th, further reports were presented by state and local committees, and addresses were made by Hon. John H. Morgan, Chief Inspector of Factories and Workshops of Ohio, on "Essentials of Factory Inspection," and by Miss Jean M. Gordon, Factory Inspector of Louisiana, on "Why the Children are in the Factories."

Following these papers the Conference joined in a general discussion of factory inspection. In this discussion the value of adequate authority for factory inspectors and school officials was shown and the duty of the private citizen to aid in law enforcement was urged by the factory and school officials present.

On Saturday afternoon a meeting was held at the Jewish Temple, at which Rabbi David Marx presided and addresses were delivered by Edward W. Frost, Edward T. Devine, Mrs. Florence Kelley and Owen R. Lovejoy. This meeting was followed by a reception given in the parlors of the Temple

by the Atlanta Council of Jewish Women, at which the delegates and guests of the National Committee were given an opportunity to meet the minister and members of the congregation whose interest has been so pronounced in local child labor reform. Other receptions, which added to the pleasure of the annual meeting, were given on Thursday afternoon by the Atlanta Woman's Club, at the Grand Opera House, and on Friday afternoon by Mrs. J. Warren Boyd at her home. The local committees made ample arrangement for the entertainment of the conference, the number of gatherings being limited only by the time at the disposal of the delegates.

The topic at the seventh session was "Child Labor and the State." The addresses on "The Consumers' Responsibility for Child Labor," by Mrs. Florence Kelley, and "The New View of the Child," by Edward T. Devine, Ph.D., appear in other parts of this volume. Mrs. A. O. Granger, representing the General Federation of Women's Clubs, addressed the meeting on "Club Women and Child Labor," and spoke as follows:

"One of the recognized causes of child labor is the non-observance, or entire lack, of two important laws, one compelling the registration of all births and the other directing that every child be obliged to attend school until it has acquired at least a rudimentary education. It is no longer practicable to accept the word of a parent who desires his child to work in the mill. Careful mill-owners must be aided by requiring parents to show proof of the ages of their children.

"In our public school education, we need many changes from the present curriculum in order to fit the children for life's work, and now I speak for the women of the Georgia Federation of Women's Clubs. The crying need of our schools to-day is manual training. The boy or girl who goes through a school course without industrial training has developed very little skill with the fingers. When quickness of eye and hand are developed, in doing work at once useful and interesting, the pupil entering the field of mechanical labor will be fitted to appreciate fine machinery and to be careful in its management, and there will be fewer machines made temporarily useless by carelessness. With a course properly arranged for the training of eye, ear, hand and brain there will be only a brief struggle against 'compulsory' education.

"The rapid growth of welfare work among the mills of our own and neighboring states is undoubtedly due in large measure to the interest awakened by club women. When one manufacturer tells us of the economic mistake of employing children too young, and another says 'ten hours is plenty long enough,' and still another says, 'When I must run my mill at night I'll seek some other business,' we know that we are doing right in seeking a shorter working day, and no night work, for children under sixteen. In every legislative body there are broad-minded legislators willing to do their best to correct evils when brought to their notice, and in every state there are women on the alert to explain the needs of the children and to ask for new amendments or to prevent the passage of vicious bills.

"In the beginning it was a frequent thing for club women to hear themselves spoken of as 'meddlesome' or 'sentimental,' but the testimony of facts

to the needs of the children took away the sting of such epithets. They heard of the little boys in an Indiana wood-working mill escaping by jumping from the rear fire escape while the inspector was detained in the office; of an Ohio factory where the cellar and a certain large closet hide the children under legal age when the inspector comes around; of little girls in a Pennsylvania silk mill being turned out unguarded into midnight darkness; they heard of the little glass-worker who toils all night every other week in the hot factory. They know the child's birthright—healthful surroundings, fresh air, proper education and a great deal of play and sleep. They know also the danger coming to our country from excessive wealth and extravagant living, as seen by those who through overwork or unsanitary conditions have lost both physical health and moral stamina, and they are striving to have a quieting influence on both extremes of our modern civilization.

"The club woman wants a child labor law which shall be effective all over the country, North, South, East and West, and here in Georgia she wants three things: A birth registration law with penalty for non-observance. A compulsory industrial education law, which shall prepare children for skilled labor, yet keep them from it until properly developed. And for our child labor law, amendments which shall do away with all exceptions; limit the work of children to ten hours a day; forbid all night work for boys or girls under sixteen; and provide a proper number of inspectors to be appointed by the governor."

The last session of the conference was a mass meeting in the Grand Opera House on Sunday afternoon, April 5th, under the general topic, "The Physical and Religious Aspects of Child Labor." Addresses were delivered by Chancellor James H. Kirkland, Hon. Hoke Smith, Rev. J. W. Stagg, D.D., and Miss Jean M. Gordon. With the exception of the third, these addresses are published in other portions of this volume.

Miss Kate Barnard, of Oklahoma, addressed the conference on "The New State and Its Children," and spoke as follows:

"It is pleasing to the people who represent the higher thought to find that in America there is a National Child Labor Committee which spends its time and thought, not on the tall sky-scrapers, not on the trade and commerce and the business interests of the world, but upon the question of how to improve America's little boys and girls. The greatest of all our responsibilities is the debt we owe to the little children. It is not because we wish to take issue with the great manufacturers, or to lessen their profits or in any way harm their interests that we agitate the child problem in America. It is rather to bring an opportunity to every little human atom to grow and develop and become beautiful in heart and mind and soul; and it is also to save the thoughtless manufacturer from blighting and marring a frail little human life. It is also for the protection of our national life and our national health that we plead; for what can these children, betrayed in the morning of their youth, and wrecked in morals and health and family—what can they bequeath to posterity, excepting their counterpart; and how else can we account for the tuberculosis and the many other diseases which are sweeping our nation, excepting that the origin of these infections is traced

to the sweat-shops, night work in the glass factories, the lint of the loom and the dust of the coal breaker?

"In Oklahoma we are trying, through wise legislation, to produce a moral atmosphere and a physical soil in which we may grow little human plants as beautiful as these I have at my elbow here. These flowers which beautify the world and throw out their fragrance to man—these, Luther Burbank has told us, are only weeds, cultivated so carefully and nurtured so tenderly that they have developed and blossomed into roses like these. And so we would cultivate in Oklahoma the human plant to its full fragrance and beauty and excellence.

"In order to do this, we are passing compulsory education and child labor laws, we have provided a juvenile court and an industrial school, and have enacted the various kinds of legislation which reach down like human hands to protect our delicate childhood. It is sad to me to hear, and most difficult to believe, that in your beautiful Southland, where the roses and magnolias bloom, and where hearts are warm and sincere and sympathetic, where nature and God seem to combine to make the world beautiful,—it is almost impossible for me to believe, that in your beautiful Southland of Georgia little human beings are hidden away in factories, that in the midst of deafening roar and blinding dust little human blossoms are crushed and faded and going to waste, just like the dry, dead autumn leaves which you trample under your feet.

"In Oklahoma we would do differently, and when hereafter you meet your friends of the North and East and West and South, tell them that out to the westward where the evening sun is setting, a new civilization is being builded up—a civilization which deigns not to protect its industries at the expense of a little child. Tell them the boys and girls who in later generations come out of Oklahoma will represent and typify the highest ideals in mind and body and soul. If the test of civilization is the attitude the strong bear towards the weak, you may tell them that in Oklahoma our civilization is the grandest in the world. We may not be able in our youth to compete with you from a financial standpoint, but we are determined that our new civilization shall be such as to point upward for all the older civilizations of the world. We are not content with protecting the babies only; we have a newer thought and a higher ideal. We believe in the fathers and mothers of Oklahoma, so we are enacting wise legislation to save the fathers from the terrors of our industries and bring them safely home in the evening to their own firesides.

"We have enacted a law which will protect the miner from the gas and black-damp as he delves away so industriously in the dark under-world. We have passed a mining bill, which will insure to the coal diggers the greatest protection that has ever been given them in the history of the world, and this mining bill will save the fathers of little children—ten thousand working men. We have passed a scaffolding bill, which calls for extra screws and heavy planks and strong boards to protect the carpenter. We have passed a bill which compels the railroads to turn the steam off their engines before men enter the red-hot boilers to calk the flues. We have created a depart-

ment of factory inspection and a department of charities as divisions of our state government. We are anxious to build such a civilization that all the world will come to view our splendid men and women.

"I had almost forgotten to tell you that for the boys and girls of Oklahoma nothing in legislation would do but the very best. Hence we sent for your Southern Secretary, Dr. McKelway, a leader in the national child labor work, to help us with our child labor bill; and we sent for Judge Ben B. Lindsey, of Denver, Colo., to help us with our juvenile court measure; and to Oklahoma came also Hastings H. Hart, of Chicago, and Alexander Johnson, the Secretary of the National Conference of Charities and Correction, and the splendid Prison Congress President, Samuel J. Barrows. And all these men lectured before our legislature with the one thought of gaining the very best legislation for the Oklahoma child."

The following resolutions were presented by Dr. A. J. McKelway and unanimously adopted, after which the sessions of the fourth annual meeting were formally adjourned:

Resolved, That the National Child Labor Committee, in convention assembled, has heard with pleasure of the great work the governor and legislature of Oklahoma are doing for the protection of the children, and hopes that the legislation now pending will be adopted and that other states will emulate her example.

Resolved, That we hereby endorse the District of Columbia child labor bill now pending in Congress, and urge its passage for the protection of the children at our national capital.

Resolved, That the thanks of the Committee and its guests and friends are hereby tendered to the people of Atlanta for their abounding hospitality; to the governor of Georgia for the delightful reception tendered us; to individuals and clubs, too numerous to mention, for courtesies extended, and to the three daily newspapers for the space freely given to the reports of the meeting and their unanimous advocacy of our cause.

STATE AND LOCAL COMMITTEES IN CO-OPERATION OR AFFILIATION WITH THE NATIONAL CHILD LABOR COMMITTEE.

Alabama Child Labor Committee.—Dr. B. J. Baldwin, Montgomery, Chairman.

Citizens' Child Labor Committee of the District of Columbia.—George M. Kober, M.D., 1603 Nineteenth Street, N. W., Washington, Chairman; Henry J. Harris, 1429 New York Avenue, Washington, Secretary.

Georgia Child Labor Committee.—Hon. Clifford L. Anderson, Atlanta, Chairman; Rev. C. B. Wilmer, D.D., 412 Courtland Street, Atlanta, Secretary.

Hull House Child Labor Committee, Chicago, Ill.—Jane Addams, Hull House, Chicago, Chairman; Mrs. Harriet M. Van Der Vaart, 6710 May Street, Chicago, Secretary.